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Social Inequalities in Europe and Latin America. An Analysis Model Based on Life, Occupational and Educational Trajectories Research

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Abstract

This paper presents the main characteristics, objectives and a preliminar analytical model of the INCASI project of research addressed to study the global trends in social inequalities in Europe and Latin America and exploring innovative ways to reduce them through life, occupational and educational trajectories research to face uncertainty.

Keywords

Social Inequalities, Europe, Latin American, Comparative Analysis, INCASI Network

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1. Introduction

This paper presents the main characteristics, objectives and a preliminar analytical model of a project of research addressed to study the global trends in social inequalities in Europe and Latin America and exploring innovative ways to reduce them through life, occupational and educational trajectories research to face uncertainty. The project is founded by the Horizon 2020 Program, under the pillar of

Excellent Science, a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Action, Research and Innovation Staff Exchange type, Grant Agreement 691004, for the period 2016-2019 (<http://incasi.uab.es>).

The overall aim of this project is to create and consolidate an International Network for Comparative Analysis of Social Inequalities (INCASI) with 20 universities, 10 from Europe and 10 from Latin America¹. This network is made up of more than 140 researchers and is led

¹ European universities: *Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Universitat de Barcelona, Universidad de Sevilla, Universidade da Coruña, Universidad de La Laguna, Middlesex University, Tampereen Yliopisto, Università degli Studi di Milano, Università della Calabria, Université de Toulouse Jean Jaurès.*

Latin American universities: *Universidad de Buenos Aires, Universidad Católica Argentina, Universidad Nacional de La Plata, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Universidad de la República, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Universidad de Concepción, Universidad de Chile, Universidade da São Paulo, El Colegio de México.*

by the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona through the Institut d'Estudis del Treball (IET) and the Grup de Recerca en Educació i Treball (GRET). The purpose is to conduct comparative research in the area of social inequalities. Through this network we hope to foster a space for collective reflection and the development of synergies between network partners that allow us to undertake innovative studies whose outputs have an impact on academic and policy debates on the subject. The project will also contribute to informing the design of public policies to tackle social inequalities. In so doing, we aim to contribute innovative solutions that improve citizens' living standards, reduce social inequalities and promote social justice. This is in line with Horizon 2020's objectives which state that *"current trends at play in European societies bring with them opportunities for a more united Europe but also risks and challenges. These opportunities, risks and challenges need to be understood and anticipated in order for Europe to evolve with adequate solidarity and cooperation at social, economic, political, educational and cultural levels, taking into account an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world"* (Official Journal of the European Union, 2013).

From this perspective, the whole project is structured on the basis of the following four pillars:

- 1) Substantive background and explanatory models of social inequalities which comprises eight thematic axes integrated in a model of analysis called AMOSIT (Analytical Model of Social Inequalities and Trajectories).
- 2) Methodology for the analysis of social inequalities.
- 3) Social policies to counteract social inequalities.
- 4) Gender inequalities' transversal perspective.

To achieve the objectives of INCASI Project, we organize the project chronologically through five work packages:

- 1) Compilation: to review the accumulated scientific capital that exists among network's members.
- 2) Construction: elaboration of the AMOSIT model.

- 3) Innovation: to propose a new theoretical and methodological perspective on social inequalities.
- 4) Projection: to planning the sustainability of the network through two specific lines of action in research and teaching, and to disseminating-communicating project outcomes.
- 5) Management: organization and coordination of INCASI network activities.

Our exposition will deal the following seven issues:

- Relevance of the project and general presentation.
- Specific objectives of the project.
- Pillar 1: Substantive background and explanatory models of social inequalities.
- AMOSIT model of analysis.
- Pillar 2: Methodology for analysis of social inequalities.
- Pillar 3: Social policies to counteract social inequalities.
- Pillar 4: Gender inequalities transversal perspective.

2. Relevance of the project and general presentation

The European social landscape during the second half of the XX Century was characterized by fundamental social, political and economic changes which led to high levels of socio-economic welfare provision and social cohesion. This landscape has more recently been transformed as a result of the 2007-2008 economic crisis which has led to the emergence of a range of social and economic problems. These have resulted in more unequal social realities that have tended to persist among Europe's increasingly globalized and open market economies. The crisis has in turn contributed to the appearance of new forms of social organization that are responding to volatile and less predictable social and economic contexts. Within the new context, people tend to adopt strategies to cope with these less stable and predictable times compared to those of their more secure pasts. The presence of the state's safety net is currently less prevalent and is

constantly under political scrutiny in ways that have not been witnessed before.

Understanding these strategies and their outcomes requires new analytical and methodological approaches that can capture their nature and scope as well as their overall capacity to respond to the new environment. Many authors refer to this situation as one of uncertainty and precariousness, and this necessarily raises questions about the vulnerability that certain groups currently face along with growing social inequalities more generally in contemporary European society.

In contrast, some Latin American countries which have been historically characterized by long-term economic instability and decline have begun to implement more inclusive and proactive public policies. These are based on the allocation of citizenship rights and the provision of resources to different social actors that were previously ignored by the state as a subject of public policy. In particular, this has occurred in the first 15 years of the XXI Century following a period that was dominated by the hegemony of neo-liberal ideas (1980-1990s) in most countries within the region. The new wave of entitlements for many people in Latin American include support for chronically unemployed people, pensioners (with no history of social contributions), housewives, the chronically ill, children (e.g. whose parents do not have a stable and formal income) and the like. While we recognise that the process is far from universal and does not apply to any single vulnerable group in across all Latin American states (indeed far from it), it is one that must be examined. Such policies have sought to overcome structurally embedded social inequalities which have been long ignored and that from our perspective have positively influenced the development of the region as a whole. It is also important to recognise that the recurring periods of crisis and uncertainty in Latin America have endowed its people with certain survival mechanisms that have allowed them to get by in such adverse contexts and that are worthy of investigation. In this way, understanding can be acquired for from their experience that is of use to affected citizens in Western Europe as until

recently most people had not been exposed to such extreme experiences of destitution and uncertainty since the end of World War II.

Recognizing and understanding the new social models that are being developed in the global North and the global South -particularly in Western Europe and Latin America - is regarded as a very important issue for academics and policy makers because of their potential impacts upon the general population. This calls for the need to generate a new framework for comparative analysis through which these new social models can be understood and examined. This must be conducted within the respective political, economic and social contexts in which they have emerged, and only then may lessons be extrapolated. This project thus also seeks to understand the specificities and common elements of social behaviour that are observable among individuals and groups. This analysis will be sensitive to the different welfare states models in which they are embedded as well as the socio-economic background and cultural context where people live. Attention will be also placed on the differentiated social resources and strategies for action that individuals and groups deploy through their working life cycle and within different national contexts.

In order to do this, we propose the development of innovative measurement techniques and methodologies to best understand the problem of social inequalities under this new political, economic and social context. Thus, the intent is to generate harmonized data for diagnosing specific situations in different regions and countries such as those in Europe and Latin America.

Hence it is necessary to consider the complexity of the different issues that concern structural and relational conditions of social inequality and that can only be captured and compared through multidimensional and interdisciplinary approaches like the one portrayed below. This university consortium combines diverse research interests and perspectives that will allow us to study new forms of social inequalities and responses to this in a holistic way. This will in turn, allow us to deepen our knowledge of the

strategies and life, work and educational trajectories that individuals and groups have adopted to cope with uncertainty and destitution. It will also heighten understanding of the emerging social models that result from such practices and so permit us to develop explanatory mechanisms of operation. From these, relevant conclusions will be drawn for academic reflection so as to generate proposals for the design of innovative public policies in response.

From this perspective, the whole project is structured on the basis of four pillars: substantive background and explanatory models of social inequalities, methodology for the analysis of social inequalities, social policies to counteract social inequalities, and gender inequalities' transversal perspective.

The project in turn comprises eight thematic axes:

- 1) Inequalities in the labour market and labour trajectories.
- 2) Asymmetries in the relationship between training and employment.
- 3) Inequalities in work and family life.
- 4) Educational inequalities.
- 5) Geographical and social inequalities: ethnicity and language.
- 6) Social inequalities, migration and space.

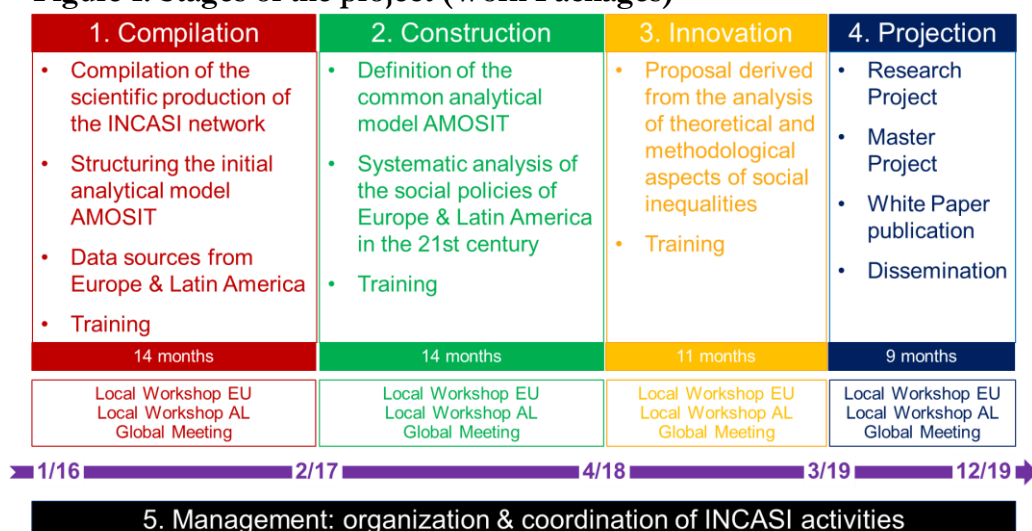
- 7) Uncertainty, strategies, resources and capabilities.
- 8) Inequality of opportunity: intergenerational social mobility.

These four pillars are conceived from two points of view: from existing and developed contributions by the literature and participating research groups, as well as from the contribution that the INCASI network can generate, in terms of innovation, in each of the thematic structuring the project.

Taking into account the four pillars, two points of view and eight thematic axes, we organize the project chronologically through five work packages (WP) as listed below (Figure 1).

- 1) **Compilation:** The first phase of the project where the main objective is to review the accumulated scientific capital that exists among network's members, exhaustively structuring issues and obtaining the latest research on social inequalities using the model of analysis (AMOSIT: Analytical Model of Social Inequalities and Trajectories) which is described below. These will be complemented by systematically collecting data sources from Europe and Latin America.

Figure 1. Stages of the project (Work Packages)



2) Construction: Consensus-reaching and defining a common research perspective according to the proposed analysis model AMOSIT. Based on the AMOSIT modelling analysis and with the contribution of different groups, the methodology will be elaborated using the eight themes and their theoretical and conceptual aspects. This phase will be completed by systematizing and analysing European and Latin American social policies during the first fifteen years of the twenty-first century.

3) Innovation: Innovation arises from permanent reflection on the analysis of social inequalities as a result of the network's synergies. Using the network's intellectual capital and research that it has conducted through analysis of the theoretical and methodological aspects of social inequalities in Europe and Latin America, we seek to establish and operationalize an analytical model as a result of this joint research initiative, which we call the AMOSIT model. This model emphasizes longitudinal analysis and life trajectories from a multidimensional perspective of social life as the articulation of work, education and the life-cycle that are evident in the socio-political and cultural realities of Europe and Latin America. We propose the coherent delivery of an innovative methodology with a mixed-methods research design that combines qualitative and quantitative techniques.

4) Projection: The final phase is dedicated to planning the sustainability of the network through two specific lines of action in research and teaching, and to disseminating project outcomes. With regards to the former, an international research programme for the advancement and development of comparative analysis of social inequalities will emerge from new common projects and specific domains that are identified among the network's activities. The teaching element of the project will be materialized through the setting up of an International Master in Social Inequalities Analysis. This phase also entails the dissemination of the network's work and its

contributions to theory and practice including interaction with policy makers and public authorities. This will also include the establishment of scientifically-grounded diagnoses and policy recommendations for the design of social policies that will ultimately contribute to reducing social inequalities.

5) Management: Organization and coordination of INCASI network activities in WP1 to WP4 in order to ensure compliance with project objectives.

3. Specific objectives of research

The interests and research objectives that converge in INCASI network and which constitute the basis for knowledge creation and exchanges are as follows:

- (i) To develop a general framework for collaboration and the formation of a research network between European and Latin American universities and research centres.
- (ii) To analyse the trajectories that citizens have followed in the labour market, identifying their outcomes in terms of mobility and social inequality. Using this knowledge, the aim is to develop a model that explains these trajectories in comparative terms between Latin America and Europe.
- (iii) To identify and understand the different coping strategies that have been developed and how resources and capabilities have been mobilized to identify, classify and compare patterns of social behaviour adopted to cope with uncertainties in each region.
- (iv) To specifically study these trajectories and coping strategies by analysing the relationship between work, training and employment, and the connection between life trajectories and citizen's education, including their productive and reproductive spheres. These will also be examined in comparative terms.
- (v) To examine a range of social, economic, employment and educational policies which have sought to tackle inequalities in the

aforementioned areas. The focus will be on participating countries, and more generally on addressing these issues in a comparative context between Europe and Latin America.

- (vi) To develop models of macro and micro analysis and comparative methodologies that focus on dynamic and longitudinal perspectives. A mixed-method approach will be adopted whereby various data sources (including quantitative and qualitative) will be utilized for the analysis.
- (vii) To draw practical conclusions that help to inform the design of innovative public policies that are aimed at tackling situations of social inequality, particularly with regards to employment and educational policies.
- (viii) To establish the conceptual and methodological basis for the development of an international comparative research framework and accompanying network alongside the implementation of the research project.
- (ix) Design an international Master programme that analyses social inequalities in a comparative perspective.

In this context, our objective is to understand and analyse social, economic and political inclusion, as well as labour market dynamics in order to combat poverty and marginalisation, promote equality, solidarity and inter-cultural dynamics by supporting cutting-edge science, interdisciplinary research, development of indicators and methodological advances. Our research has a leading role to play in this context and shall support the implementation of the Europe 2020 strategy as well as other relevant Union social policies. In this sense our focused research will give suggestions to design, reorient or assess the impact and effectiveness of social in favour of social inclusion.

4. Substantive background and explanatory models of social inequalities

Research carried out by each of the groups participating in this network and general literature on the subject are abundant, diverse and enjoy a long tradition. We shall gather some of the major contributions that summarize the

history and current state of art in relation to the study's objectives. This background will be divided into eight thematic axes cited in order to have a common starting point for undertaking exchanges and for developing an Analytical Model on Social Inequalities and Trajectories (AMOSIT). This model will be presented at the next paragraph as a preliminar global perspective of the INCASI network.

The eight thematic axes –including key references that lead this work and our research framework– are presented below.

4.1. Inequalities in the labour market and labour trajectories

The concept of flexibility is paramount in order to understand the new models of employment emerged since the eighties (Castel, 1997; Castells, 1997; Miguélez y Prieto, 2009; Banyuls et al., 2009). The companies trying to adapt their strategies to the requirements of the overall demand have to search constantly for the most recent technological applications, reform their organizational structures and adjust the cost of their activities in view of improving their competitiveness. In consequence, they are forced to examine also the quantity and quality of the workforce employed.

The main expression of such types of dynamics is the precariousness and temporality of labour contracts (Toharia, 2005; Laborda, 2013; Molina y López-Roldán, 2015). In these circumstances: (i) new requirements and training profiles are expected in terms of competencies: adaptability, autonomy and other soft skills become essential; (Planas, 2013); (ii) consequently, according to new sources of information on different types of professional itineraries (Toharia y Cebrián, 2007; QUIT, 2011), segmentation, individualization and diversification of the workforce will break traditional biographical trajectories; (López-Roldán et. al., 1998; Alòs, 2008) and (iii) future employment opportunities are becoming more and more uncertain thus resulting in increased vulnerability (Germe, 2011).

The concept of flexicurity has been brought up in these new circumstances. There is an urgent

need of effective planning policies in order to resolve the problems of employment security and social protection (Leonardi et al., 2011). In this context, the policies of the European Union have been developed by promoting active inclusion (González, 2013; Heidenreich y Aurich-Berheide, 2014).

In Latin America, there is a current issue which is of utmost importance and actuality: why, in a context characterized by extraordinary mobilization and concentration, Latin American countries have not achieved an effective convergence in terms of equality during the last decades? It seems that the heterogeneity of the productive systems and the labour markets in capitalist economies, subordinated to the global economy, constitute an obstacle for the promotion of new political and economic models.

The predominant economic model based on unequal financial regime controls the accumulation and distribution of social resources (Salvia et al., 2010). In this sense, the process of international economic liberalization, the concentration of multinational capital and the globalized financial expansion seem to have deepened a subordinate model of structural heterogeneity. Hence the persistence of social marginality based on substantial and growing labour productivity differentials and a bulky micro-informal sector with a feeble productivity and low-income level (Chavez Molina and Sacco, 2014).

Special attention should be paid to labour informality in Latin America. Many analysts have pointed out that the causes of labour informality are deeply rooted in profound socio-structural components (Salvia, Stefani and Comas, 2012; Gutiérrez Ageito 2007; Persia, Malec and Sorokin, 2011; Neffa, 2009; Manzo 2014). Hence the need to differentiate between "macro" and "micro" labour formalization strategies. The first notion refers to the macro-economic policies that encourage the demand for formal employment while the latter is specifically designed to counter labour informality (Betranou et al, 2013; Manzo, 2014).

4.2. Asymmetries in the relationship between training and employment

Many analysts, especially those who are linked to European rating agencies, are in favor of legal adjustments between training and work. Assuming this as an optimal situation, they try to test this hypothesis (Bonnal et al., 2005; Bruyre and Lemistre, 2005; Giret and Moullet, 2005; Oliver, Raymond and Hall, 2001) or isolate the factors that impede its realization (Groot and Maassen van den Brink, 2000; Hartog, 2000; Cart and Toutin, 2005). However, it has been shown that such matching between training and employment occurs in very small proportions.

Several researchers find that there is a relative autonomy of the demand for education with respect to economic output (Carnoy and Levin, 1985 and most recently QUIT, 2000; Béduwé and Planas, 2003; and Market and Planas, 2005). We are witnessing a process of diversification of educational paths and diversification of employment as noted above. Professional aptitudes are conceived beyond their initial formal training and particular stress is put on the role of learning based on work experience (Béduwé and Espinasse, 1996). This calls into question the concept of the labour market based on a mechanical correspondence between training specialties and occupation (Planas, 2013; 2015). The socio-educational changes in the current global context of development include increased formation of university professionals integrated in economic life and located at the apex of the social pyramid.

However, these processes do not take place evenly and equitably, but respond to various factors which include:

- a) the accumulating conditions imposed by markets;
- b) governmental policies in the areas of economy, social welfare and education;
- c) the inclusion of university communities and professional groups;
- d) different family strategies according to social classes
- e) the "life strategies" of young academics as active agents within this socio-historical setting.

Thus, the relationship between vocational training and work experience is central to the ways of reproducing a social system and a strategic factor of economic development (Baudelot and Leclercq, 2008; OCDE, 2008, 2009).

4.3. Inequalities in work and family life

The everyday social life comprises various areas where leisure time is interrelated with productive and reproductive activities and times. This perspective leads to consider work in a broad sense, beyond employment, taking into account the sexual division of labour and the implications of the relationship between family, market and state (QUIT, 1998; Crompton, 2006; Torns et al, 2011; Carrasco et al., 2011).

The perspective of lifetime or life cycle (Elder, 1985; Mortimer and Shanahan, 2003; Muñiz, 2012, 2013) has provided relevant analyses on the sequence of events and experiences during a lifetime (Runyan, 1982). It has integrated into a whole the interaction of various areas of daily life: family, education, employment, giving meaning to life projects and identifying concepts like trajectory, transition and turning point, and from a multidimensional approach, types of life stages by which individuals would combine the different uses of time (Anxo et al., 2007; Klammer, Muffels and Wilthagen, 2008; Anxo, Bosch and Rubery, 2010; Casal et al., 2006). In this regard, for example in Argentina, the category "future project" emerge as a local category of quantitative and qualitative studies meant to evaluate the social policy of "Universal Allowance per Child". In this sense we can evaluate how it succeeds in strengthening the relation between education and future social integration in the case of the families who do not have formal employment in urban and rural areas of the provinces of Córdoba and San Juan. There is also a growing trend towards tertiary and university studies amongst secondary level students coming from marginalized social sectors (Scarponetti and others, 2011 and 2015).

However, over the last decades in Latin America, a particular feature of the poorest sectors is still the reproduction of social exclusion matrix. In

this regard, several studies confirm that the sectors most present on the scene of socio-economic marginalization have accumulated at least two generations of members prevented from accessing effective opportunities for social mobility (Lindemboim and Sage, 2014). The greatest problem for these "displaced" sectors is not to have fallen into marginality but having been unable to free themselves from the institutional political and socio-economic patterns that are generated by the initial conditions of marginality. In this regard, it is relevant to highlight some of the processes that seem to dominate the scenario of social reproduction among the excluded sectors:

- a) increasing alienation from the social structure of formal work;
- b) strengthened family and community ties of reciprocity in reaction and effect of the processes of residential segregation and precarious conditions of social reproduction (education, health, social welfare);
- c) increasing self-isolation against the middle class and the rest of the dominant social structure (Sage, 2012). In this context, new forms of socio-occupational integration are configured as responses to the closure of institutional channels that used to enable formal insertion and now push these sectors to new, more opaque forms of marginalization (extra-legal or illegal).

4.4. Educational inequalities

Educational inequalities, especially the inequality of educational opportunities due to social origin, have been one of the central themes of the sociology of education. The existence of an empirical relationship between economic and cultural capital of parents and academic achievement of children was analysed by the classic Coleman report (1966) and has been updated in recent years by the well-known PISA reports. There are two types of inequalities or effects according to Boudon (1983), primary and secondary. The primary effects are those that directly affect the impact of family socialization attitudes and children's aptitudes in relation to school requirements, or indirectly through mechanisms such as school choice or resource mobilization. Side effects are those that affect

educational choices, and they have increased their range of action through growing enrolment rates and diversified post-compulsory educational pathways. For this reason, the concept of path has been developed (Raffe, 2003; 2011; Casal, Merino, Garcia, 2006) in order to analyse the effect of structural constraints and the role of the choices of different social actors. We can find paths that end up reproducing the social positions of parents, but also diverse mobility paths depending on educational opportunities and success.

Inequalities in educational outcomes are considered to be an indicator of the lack of efficient educational systems. Although much attention has been paid to schools and teachers' formation and huge investments have been made within the educational policies, only few researchers have privileged the role played by families. It is necessary to strengthen a strategic agreement between the two educational stakeholders (school and family). That is the key to effective teaching and to achieve a better quality of education (Alcalay et al. 2005; UNICEF, 2005, 2007; MINEDUC, 2002).

One should also analyse the role of socially vulnerable families, the deficit of their cultural capital as a factor of exclusion and the strategies of linking family and schools in order to improve educational outcomes (Hands, 2006; Hoover-Dempsey, 2005; Epstein & Van Voorhis, 2001; Fan & Chen, 1999; Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Henderson & Mapp, 2002; Hill & Craft, 2003; Romagnoli and Gallardo, 2008; Alvarez et al 2010). For researchers of social and educational outcomes in Latin America, it is extremely important to be able to compare international experiences in order to achieve more equitable educational systems.

4.5. Geographical and social inequalities: ethnicity and language

From the colonial period onwards, the Latin American states have used pressure in order to impose a common language to all their citizens, especially to the indigenous people. Within this process, the education has been the main tool for language learning and for the adoption of

exogenous cultural features. The struggle for cultural and linguistic recovery of the indigenous people in Latin America is a consequence of the discrepancy in cultural rights, due to the search for cultural homogenisation. If the indigenous communities reclaim their territorial rights, the liberty of self-government according to their own traditions, the acknowledgment of their language rights or religious practices, their attitude has been considered disloyal to the imposed national identity (Mato 2012).

In almost all countries of the continent there are several communities that have preserved their languages and cultural habits dating previous to Colonial time. In Paraguay, Guaraní (spoken by 80% of the inhabitants) has an equal constitutional status with Spanish since 2011, but the generalisation of its use in different realms of the society remains to be seen. Although some important communities, e.g. the Quechuas and Aymaras in Peru, Bolivia, Argentina and Chile, still maintain their language (though in decline), others, like the Mapudungun in Argentina and Chile is becoming extinct. Linguistic and cultural marginalization leads inevitably to social inequality; this is the case of most Native American communities of the continent. This is why the revaluation of their traditions and languages is a major social and cultural issue in Latin America, but if the indigenous communities wish to gain recognition and prestige, the initiative has to emerge from inside these groups.

In Europe, the struggle of minorized linguistic groups for the codification of their languages and for the recognition of their own cultural identity has often led to social and economic harmony, to relative prosperity and to intense cultural activity (Safran 2014). Three examples may illustrate this evolution: i) Finland, ii) the Basque Country, iii) the Samis (the only indigenous community in Europe). Due to certain similarities in the ethnic and linguistic situations in Europe in the 19th century and today's Latin America, research collaboration between scholars of the two continents is of utmost importance.

Today, new ways of thought point at the enriching role of cultural diversity through which it becomes easier to understand our environment and to give alternative answers to social needs. Culture should be understood as a product of human activity, the result of creative force and not as something static or motionless (Barabas 2014). This new vision is a challenge for national states and for indigenous communities, since they have to revitalise their concept of culture and to adapt it to new situations imposed by the surrounding reality.

4.6. Social inequalities, migration and space

According to the classical migration theories, the relationship between migration and social inequality is closely related to immigrants' employability on the labour market. This in many cases comprises low-skill jobs and unstable, precarious and unprotected job positions - for example those within the black or informal market (Piore, 1983). Seminal work by Castles and Kosak (1975) rightly analysed this phenomenon within the framework of capital accumulation process and growing inequality between 'the centre' and 'the periphery' - a phenomenon inherent to the global capitalist system (Castles y Kosack: 1975).

The social inequality generated by own national migration policies must be added to the social inequality equation insofar as "(...) the control of States over migration flows is what defines the international migration as a distinctive social process" (Zolberg, 1989:405). The process of incorporation of immigrants into the receiving society brings along in turn another situation of social exclusion for example due to racist and xenophobic attitudes by the local population toward the new arrivals, a process that not only relates to the social class origin of migrants, but also their ethnicity and race as mechanisms of "social integration" (Blanco, 2000) or indeed 'social exclusion'.

However, more recent approaches go beyond the analysis of the relationship between migration and social inequality only from the point of view of the receiving country by adopting a perspective of transnationalism. This

refers to the fact that the contexts of origin and destination of migration flows are connected through relationships that the migrants themselves build and maintain over geographical, political and cultural boundaries (Glick Schiller et al., 1992; Levitt, 2001; Vertovec, 2004). In this sense the study of migrants' social mobility must be understood within a frame of family strategies and personal migratory trajectories which cover various social spaces such as country of origin, transnational destination, diaspora and space (Oso, 2011). Social-spatial inequalities are also being analysed from the perspective of a more comprehensive so-called paradigm of mobility (Urry, 2007) and of the perspective of urban seclusion basically based on urban spatial inequality and the ethno-racial domination (Wacquant, 2001, 2007a, 2007b).

In Latin America, migratory flows over the past decades have continuously modified the social structures of both the sending and the receiving countries. Different types of migrants and scenarios of migration can be observed: (i) regular or irregular migrants who can return to their countries; (ii) people who are forced to emigrate as refugees or displaced citizens, and (iii) all of them deploying different socio-economic characteristics, levels of qualification and trajectories in the labour market. Independently from these elements, patterns of inequality and discrimination tend to reproduce in the countries of destination (Martínez, 2001; Stefoni, 2011; Tijoux, 2012).

Segregation is particularly made visible in Latin American cities through informal labour markets and through the location of housing in high-risk and spatially segregated zones. An important number of poor families have to turn to informal land markets in order to acquire a home, often with precarious sanitary conditions and a very low level of provision of other public services and the likes. Poor physical infrastructure and property insecurity are often worsened due to settlement and housing policies which favours building projects in the urban periphery where the land is cheap and far from the many opportunities within the inner cities. In most Latin American cities there is an urban centre,

normally a high-income area, and more and more frequently also another high-income area in a specific sector of the periphery. In effect, over the last years gated communities built in the poor outskirts of cities have changed the patterns of urban segregation. Today, it is possible to find concentrated high-income zones, other segregated low-income areas and mixed districts in areas where there are also low-income homes and gated communities. All this development is shaping a different social geography of inequalities which poses new problems, new challenges but also some opportunities for the poor and socially excluded. While wealthy gated communities, located in the midst of poor suburban areas, create working opportunities, attract business and services to the area at the same time they represent an expression of symbolic violence not only as a result of their guarded accesses and the fenced surrounding walls but also by the abundance of resources that they have and that everybody around lacks.

4.7. Uncertainty, strategies, resources and capabilities

From the perspective of the individuals themselves, it is important to take into account the multiplicity of personal and social resources that individuals can deploy to improve their employability within increasingly uncertain and unpredictable social and economic contexts. In this sense, the capability approach (Sen, 1992, 1993) has proved fruitful for understanding the processes and the opportunities at stake when people are being chosen for different jobs and when they mobilise their resources in order to achieve a practical and effective result. All of this has to be combined with a life-cycle strategy (Runyan, 1982) where the true agency development takes place, that is, in contexts of structurally unequal social relations (Verd, Vero y López, 2009). This enables us to explain the vital, professional and formative positions and trajectories in a new context of increasing unpredictability (Bauman 2007; Beck, 1998, 2000; Lash, Szerszynski y Wynne, 1996). Recent analyses have identified different strategies as protective solutions for risks and uncertainties on the labour market (Germe, 2011).

In this sense, Schmid's theory of transitional employment options which integrates both the individual and the institutional perspective is very useful. With regard to the individual perspective, it takes as its starting point the work of Beck (1998, 2000) and Giddens (1994a, 1994b), describing a society characterised by risk and uncertainty. Instead of being predetermined paths towards a neat and orderly professional career, labour markets require frequent adjustments because of external influences (e.g. changing markets, technologies, company restructuration processes, demographic cycles, etc.) and workers' personal changes and changing preferences (e.g. family changes, individual reorientations, diseases, etc.). The frequent exits from and re-entries to the labour market are indeed a significant phenomenon in modern employment scenery and their effects mark all of the aspects of vital individual trajectories (Schmid, 1998; Rogowski and Schmid, 1997). In the past, the domestic or family economy provided individuals an institutional framework for transitions between jobs in the formal labour market. Nowadays, these transition processes require a new institutional framework in order to avoid high unemployment costs and persistent instability and vulnerability of life and jobs pathways.

Meanwhile the development of technologies favours progress and development of society, but also represents specific risks in the everyday citizens' life: this constant innovation process increases the level of uncertainty in the life trajectories. Thus, we need to counteract, if possible, or know the best way to live with effects of the influence of technology.

4.8. Inequality of opportunity: intergenerational social mobility

The central themes for analysis are the changes occurring in recent times in terms of social stratification, intergenerational mobility and social welfare. The causal relationship between better social welfare conditions, equality and better job and life opportunities is well established in the literature; hence occupational categories assume a theoretical and

methodological role able to model the processes of social inequality. In this sense, the focus of attention of scientific analysis should be put into how homes and the workforce are embedded in social relations of class, how they use resources and market opportunities and participate in the distribution of income and social resources interfering thus actively in the processes of social mobility.

From the seminal work of Lipset and Zetterberg; Featherman, Jones and Hauser; Grusky and Hauser; until the general review by Erikson and Goldthorpe (1993), international analyses of social mobility have traditionally concluded that the possibility of mobility is invariable when absolute mobility is controlled. However, recent research utilizing new data (Marqués Perales and Herrera-Usagre, 2010; Breen, 2004), up to date methods and including segments of the population previously overlooked such as females, are challenging traditional assumptions (Fachelli and López Roldán, 2013, 2015; Breen, Luijkx, Muller, and Pollak, 2009; Salido, 2001).

In Latin America, social mobility is presented as a counterpart to the study of development and socioeconomic inequality (Germani, 1968; Costa Pinto, 1965; Fernandes, 1965, 1968, 1978; Filgueira and Geneletti, 1981; Filgueira 2007). Moreover, the constant inequality observed by Erikson and Goldthorpe (1993) challenges both economic and social policies. Recent studies highlight the need for models of greater social fluidity that slowly alleviate underlying inequality utilising redistribution policies that seek to revoke the typical barriers of Goldthorpe's traditional inequality and mobility model (Solís et al. 2015). However, these same studies also report on the effect of regressive processes with the advance of neoliberal policies, as well as confusion surrounding structural limits during the last decade. In general, these tendencies are particularly visible when comparing the processes of stratification and social mobility between the period of neoliberal structural reforms and the current stage of Neodevelopmentalism or heterodox policies. In this regard, numerous studies coincide that over the last two decades a more open social mobility model has not appeared but, on the contrary, a

regime of more rigid regime of stratification has crystalized.

5. AMOSIT: model of analysis

The different thematic axes that guide this project form a general model called Analytical Model on Social Inequalities and Trajectories (AMOSIT), which was conceived to facilitate comparative analysis of social inequalities between Europe and Latin America. The model, represented in Figure 2, attempts to establish innovative ways of conceptualizing and analysing social inequalities by placing life, labour and educational trajectories, and strategies associated with these trajectories, at the centre of the analysis. Considering different social, political, economic and cultural contexts we aim to extract elements for comparison, which contribute to the development of innovative methodologies as well as policy recommendations to fight social inequalities and promote social justice.

The proposed model of analysis is a first formulation which seeks to embrace the perspectives and experiences of the entire participating network - as only some research groups in the network have had the opportunity to collaborate in joint research informed by the model.

The model allows us to question the social mechanisms that come into play when facing situations of uncertainty, what patterns of behaviour are developed and what factors explain them. The current social reality offers a scenario for new behavioural patterns in the areas of labour, education and life, constituting an under researched area, where the new dynamics of structuring social inequalities are developed.

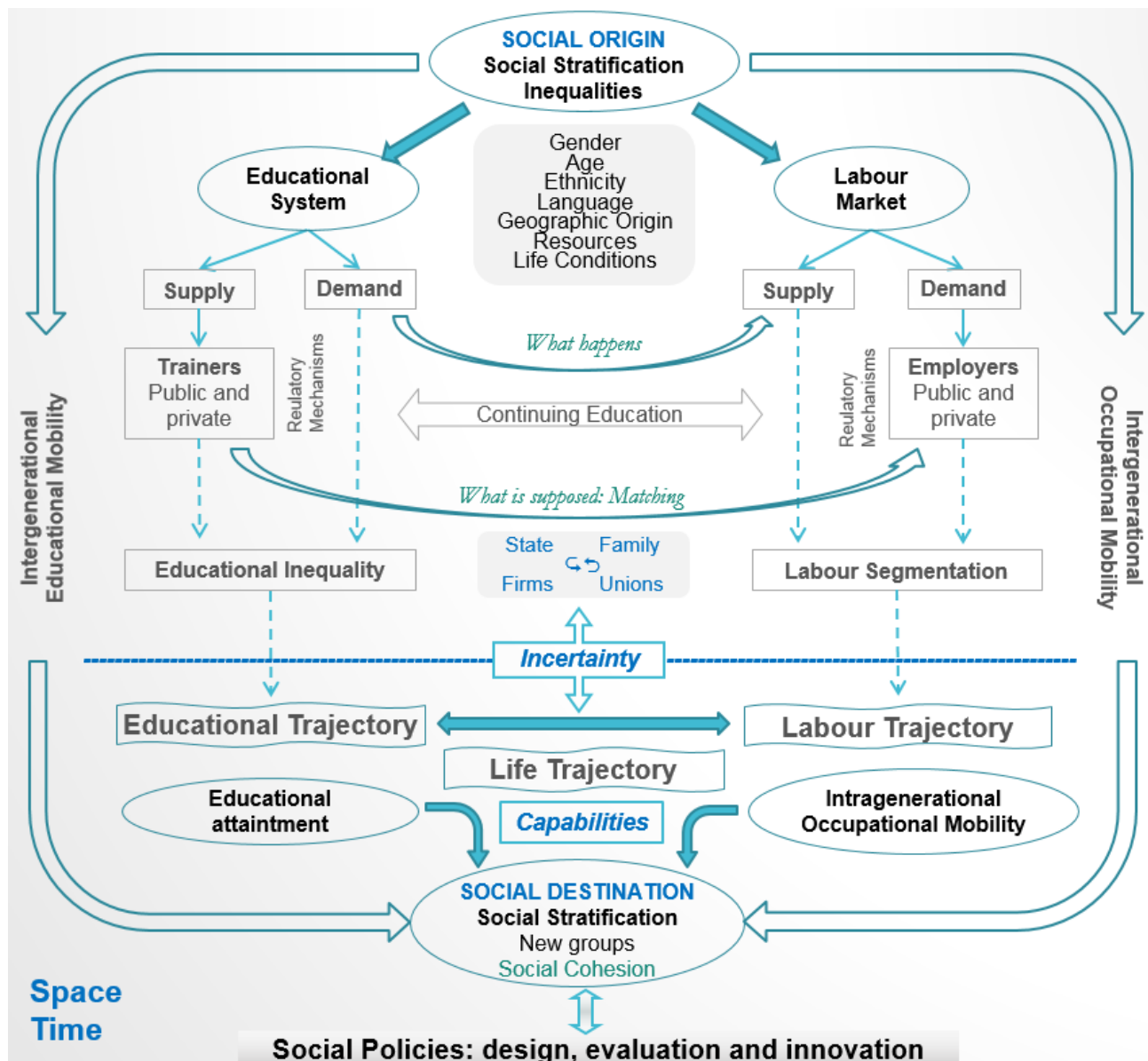
The current global context of uncertainty, the depth of the crisis experienced by Europe and the high level of structural deficiency that still affects Latin America marks the relevance of the theme and objectives and also guides the necessity of international research collaboration. Knowledge exchange on methods to confront situations of uncertainty is essential in the

spheres of academia and policy creation and implementation.

We start from the general hypothesis that the hegemonic work model, typically described by authors as "standard" or "conventional", i.e., based on a full-time job, with well-defined occupational tasks and professional career throughout the life cycle, has been destroyed in Latin America and is weakening rapidly in

Europe. Flexibility is growing, as are new situations dominated by uncertainty, where informality and casual job contracts become predominant. Different patterns of labour trajectories and new social realities are shaped according to strategies and life projects characterized by varying degrees of vulnerability and social insecurity, which in turn generate new dynamics of social mobility.

Figure 2: Analytical Model on Social Inequalities and Trajectories (AMOSIT)



New strategies and trajectories to face the current working and living reality have become apparent and we hypothesize that these changes affect the daily life of all social groups. However, according

to the availability of different resources, strategies and capabilities that facilitate or impede the management of this new reality, the effects are expressed in the form of discrete social

inequalities. Consequently, these elements enhance or weaken the social status of individuals.

Therefore, we sustain that:

- (i) In the current context of global uncertainty, the characteristics of social inequality have changed.
- (ii) Dynamic processes of constant change and greater uncertainty equate to unstable social positions of individuals.
- (iii) Based on this dynamic, it is possible to identify different types of educational, labour and life trajectories, which front uncertainty with differing results, as a result of the articulation of diverse capacities and social resources, expressed in a classification of protective strategies.
- (iv) These results can be explained by the confluence of macro-social (structural), micro-social (individual action) and meso-social (confluence of the previous two in terms of life trajectories) factors and identified in the interrelationship of productive and reproductive life.
- (v) Each socio-political and cultural context transmits specificities and dynamics that influence social inequalities and allows the comparison of different behavioural and vulnerability models, as well as individual strategies of varying levels of success in dealing with uncertainty.
- (vi) We propose a general model of analysis as an axis of articulation for the different research groups involved in this paper. In this sense, it represents a collaborative proposal of INCASI that seeks to integrate the theoretical and methodological background of the different participants.

The model of analysis highlights the key concepts linking social starting positions to the current target positions in a stratified social structure, which expresses changes over time and is spanned by general uncertainty. In this progression in time there are two focusses: the education system, the labour market, and their linkages. In both cases it is dynamic institutions and processes of regulation that generate unequal positions among people: higher or lower

educational levels that result in an unequal educational structure, at the same time, better or worse labour positions generate a segmented and unequal labour market. These areas of interest are articulated within a life cycle perspective interrelated with the reproductive sphere, biographies and life projects framed in each socio-historical context.

Thus, the synthesis of different research groups from the INCASI network can benefit the study of social inequalities and strategies for uncertainty by providing a backdrop of a wealth of knowledge and experience. In the Work Packages, successive stages lead us first to compile and build this model with the aim of introducing innovative elements for publication and to ensure the future sustainability of the project.

6. Methodology for analysis of social inequalities

The second pillar of the INCASI project focuses on the methodological aspects of social inequality research with a dual approach:

- a) To identify the most commonly used qualitative and quantitative methodologies in the analysis of social inequalities.
- b) To develop a mixed quantitative-qualitative methodological model for the analysis of social inequalities based on the AMOSIT model and as a result of the network's collaborative work.

The applicable methodologies that can be applied to the analysis of social inequalities, trajectories and mobility are vast, rich and varied. The aim to combine research strategies, usually separated, in an integrative mixed methods approach, creates an original contribution to the treatment of social complexity.

As generic methodological guidelines we understand that (i) the study of complex systems requires investigation into process, generation and its dynamic, through an explicit conceptual model, (ii) social phenomena are situational and are located in certain social levels and contexts;

the differentiation and contrast of these different references of times, spaces, situations, contexts and social levels of the object under study is an important premise for the analysis of social complexity, and (iii) consequently, the design of an appropriate methodology for the investigation of trajectories and mobility requires simultaneous use of quantitative tools which can facilitate the metric quantification of the phenomena, as well as others that may capture its qualitative dimension.

Considering the aforementioned guidelines, the methodology to be designed will follow the approaches of both mixed methods and multi-strategical research (Layder, 1993; Lozares et al 1998; Verd and López-Roldán, 2008). The general hypothesis and goals outlined in this project demand the use of a methodology that takes into account both the macro and micro levels. This methodology must also be able to address both the aggregate behaviours structuring the labour and education market, and the representations and cognitive burdens of actors, with in-depth description of the strategies followed and the internalized discourses.

Recent literature about conjunctive use of various methods (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003; Creswell, 2003; Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007) has highlighted the advantages of mixed-methods designs, which can be varied according to strategy and objective. Following Creswell's mixed designs typology an explicative sequential design is contemplated where two phases are distinguished, each aimed at addressing different but complementary aspects: the first is quantitative and has a greater weight within the overall design, and the results will guide the second, qualitative, phase. Finally, the use of different sources of information in the quantitative phase will allow the "triangulation" of data and applied techniques.

A combination of four defining features will crosscut the methodological design, consistent with the AMOSIT analysis model and from a social complexity perspective:

- 1) A mixed design integrated with the combined use of qualitative and quantitative techniques.
- 2) The consideration of macro and micro social contexts.
- 3) The articulation of sectional and longitudinal analysis logics.
- 4) The treatment of attributive and relational models.

7. Social inclusion policies to counter the social inequalities

We propose a third pillar that seeks to address the particularities of social policies from the perspective of social stratification and social inequalities, emphasizing in government interventions as an effective mechanism in the arrangement of social relations, i.e., social classes and social order (Esping-Andersen, 1993, 2000, 2007, 2013). Centrally, it seeks to ascertain whether the changes in assistance policies and social protection, developed since the beginning of XXI century in Europe and Latin America, have shown evidence of inclusion, exclusion, modification, reconfiguration, mitigation or degradation of the position of the more disadvantaged socio-occupational classes.

A series of general questions guide this axis: What were the social policies in Europe and Latin America in recent years? Can the presence of sustained assistance policies and social protection be the basis for extending opportunities for and to the most vulnerable? What is the specific role that may be awarded to social policies regarding the set of factors that influence stratification patterns? What are the potential long-term effects of government interventions when they generate sustained periods of protection? What limits are revealed by assistance programs of greater reach in order to be conceived as genuine and effective ways of protection? Do assistance and protection policies achieve, to some extent, a potential decommodifying effect? What essential functions do social protection policies tend to meet in societies where informal work is meaningfully rooted? How do receiving families perceive those social policies? What role do these policies occupy in family reproduction strategies? Faced with social and labour transformations

questions concerning the transformation or reproduction of family strategies and/or of households included in social policies arise.

Finally, cross-reflection throughout the project on social policies implemented from a comparative perspective will be carried out. The purpose of this task is to draw conclusions that may guide general recommendations for the design of social policies.

The network's contributions are outlined in two distinct areas. On the one hand, to detect social groups that are exposed to direct exclusion by not obtaining sufficient institutional support or social assistance. On the other hand, to understand if in reality, social policies and the sustenance of a heterogeneous group of transfer mechanisms and subsidies, of direct and indirect incomes, of active inclusion policies and of citizenship rights, make possible relative transformations in living conditions within sectors in the contexts of vulnerability, insecurity and uncertainty. We will try to emphasize the exploration of mechanisms and actions that may provide families and individuals the resources to expand their self-worth as social agents, and their ability to mobilize themselves and to create strategies to overcome difficulties, thus promoting social cohesion. In this way, from the perspective proposed, this analysis' complexity is expressed in the need to determine the extent to which these assistance policies help generate more comprehensive processes of integration and social cohesion.

8. Gender inequalities transversal perspective

The gender perspective is another pillar of the project, under the belief that the analysis and innovative proposals must emphasize the differentiated social position of men and women. One of the network's clear goals is to advance the development of an analytical framework that places social reproduction at the centre of the socio-economical system, displacing commodity production from the central position established by traditional economic perspectives. In this way, family and domestic work emerges as a relevant

element, fundamental in people's reproduction and welfare. More specifically, to analyse inequalities between women and men in their labour participation, in how work is distributed within the households to meet the needs of reproduction, care and welfare, and in time conflicts that can appear due to the various presences in these jobs, provides a much more realistic perspective of social organization and functioning.

These approaches will enable a clearer definition of the dominant labour model, and elucidate the main obstacles faced by female employment, the social positions reached by women and finally their social role. This approach should be able to allow an analysis of total time spent on different jobs from the perspective of livelihood strategies and household reproduction. Under these considerations the analysis of working times, flexibilities and conciliations will explain the management and organization of work and life times; as well as the study of the results of changes in the organization of production (new forms of flexibility tailored to the needs of enterprises) and changes within the family and human care needs (Adam, 2004; Agarwal, 1997; Carrasco, 2011).

In conclusion, the network aims to advance the production and theoretical discussion of new perspectives that go beyond adding and considering women under traditional paradigms, and that can offer new perspectives of analysis to consider the different jobs developed in our societies (Carrasco, Butler, Domínguez, Alabart, 2004; Carrasco et al., 2003).

9. Conclusions

The main objective of INCASI is to create and consolidate a network of research and postgraduate training between Europe and Latin America related to the analysis of social inequalities in a comparative perspective and to derive elements of reflection, social innovation and recommendations for social policies.

INCASI Project, under Horizon 2020 Program of Excellent Science, will allow the mobility of

early-stage researcher and experience researcher staff with the aim that the exchanges generate a consortium of research centers of the universities.

This is an interdisciplinary project that has developed from the basis of social sciences but incorporates input from diverse disciplines that study the same subjects: Sociology, Economics, Anthropology, Social Geography, Political Science, Social Work, Industrial Relations, Linguistics and Law.

The purpose is to conduct comparative research in the area of social inequalities. Through this network we hope to foster a space for collective reflection and the development of synergies between network partners that allow us to undertake innovative studies whose outputs have an impact on academic and policy debates on the subject. The project will also contribute to informing the design of public policies to tackle social inequalities. In doing so, we aim to contribute innovative solutions that improve citizens' living standards, reduce social inequalities and promote social justice. This is in line with Horizon 2020's objectives.

From this perspective, the whole project is structured on the basis of four pillars: an Analytical Model of Social Inequalities and Trajectories -AMOSIT- with eight thematic axes, a mixed methodology for the analysis of social inequalities, an analysis of social policies to counteract social inequalities, and a gender inequalities' transversal perspective.

On the other hand, to achieve our objectives we organize the project chronologically through five work packages: compilation, construction, innovation, projection, and management.

The INCASI Project plans the sustainability of the network through two specific lines of action in research and teaching. With regards to the former, an international research programme for the advancement and development of comparative analysis of social inequalities will emerge from new common projects and specific domains that are identified among the network's

activities. The teaching element of the project will be materialized through the setting up of an International Master in Social Inequalities Analysis.

On our website (<http://incasi.uab.es>) you can follow the development of the project.

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